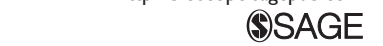
"The Road to Vagrancy": Translation and Reception of Indian Cinema in Turkey

BioScope
1(1) 67–90

SAGE Publications
Los Angeles, London,
New Delhi, Singapore,
Washington DC
DOI: 10.1177/097492760900100108
http://bioscope.sagepub.com



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Abstract

Taking Turkey as an example, this article focuses on the exhibition and reception of Indian films in the 1950s. It begins with a close analysis of *Awara* (Vagabond) (Raj Kapoor, 1951), comparing the Turkish dubbed version with the original film. Identifying the "significant variations" between these two versions, it notes that *Awara* was re-presented as a non-national film utilizing Turkified character names and selective scene deletion, common practices for international films exhibited in Turkey at the time. The article goes on to evaluate the ways in which the film was promoted and distributed throughout Turkey and analyzes various discourses on *Awara,* circulated through local reviews, news articles, advertisements, illustrations, and cartoons. Observing how culturally specific conditions of exhibition shape audience reception, it suggests that Indian cinema had a specific role in mediating competing discourses on cultural identity, modernity, and national cinema in Turkey.

Keywords

Indian films, cross-cultural reception, international film traffic

Introduction

In July 1955, a major Turkish newspaper ran a cartoon entitled "The Road to Vagrancy" which showed a man with a movie camera slung over his shoulders on a tripod, labeled "Turkish film industry". The vagabond is following a road sign that reads "Indian film industry". The reference to *Awara* (Raj Kapoor, 1951) would have been obvious to any reader at that time: the film had been the Turkish box-office phenomenon of the previous six months, fueling feverish debate and controversy, and the famous cartoonist Ali Ulvi was mocking the idea that the Indian film industry could be a model for Turkish cinema (Image 1). The cartoon provides us with a neat comment on the phenomenon of *Awara's* success in 1950s Turkey—and much of the rest of the world. The film is now considered to have been the first global box office hit and "might well have been the most successful film in the history of cinema at large" (Iordanova, 2006, p. 114). In the Turkish case the debate it provoked, centered on questions of national sentiment, morals and at a more root level, identity, was expressed through anxieties concerning the film and its soundtrack.

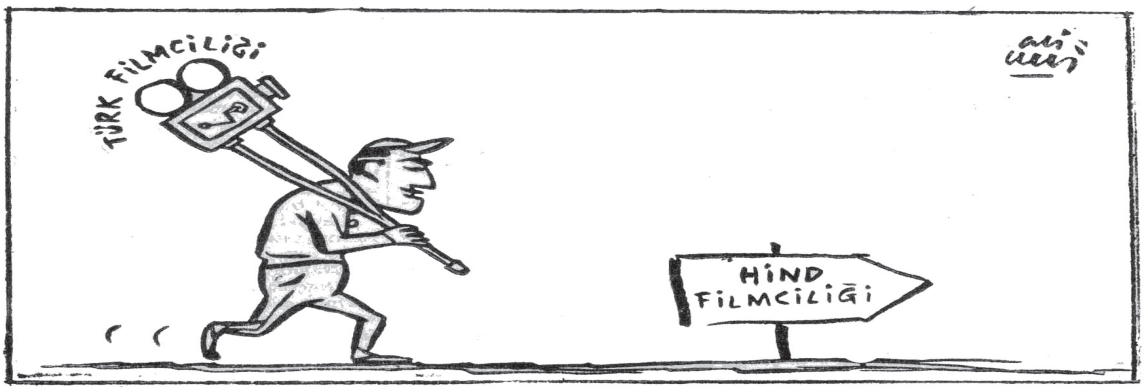

Image 1. "The Road to Vagrancy: Turkish filmmakers following their Indian counterparts."
Source: *Cumhuriyet*, July 11, 1955, Illustrator: Ali Ulvi.

Indian cinema, the largest film producer in the world, has long been popular in the global film market. Recent studies have explored how this global influence began in the early 1950s with the success of Indian films in the Middle East, North Africa, Asia, and the Balkans. For many years, Indian cinema has been a major competitor in a number of countries, threatening Hollywood's global hegemony. The popularity of Indian films has also grown among diasporic audiences in various parts of the world. The adoption of the term "Bollywood" is suggestive of the Indian film industry's efforts to penetrate new international film markets.[1] By focusing on *Awara*, this study will examine how Indian films were distributed and consumed in Turkey. Exploring the various discourses Indian films generate on cultural identity and modernity, I would like to discuss the role they play in constructing local film culture. By drawing on material culled from film reviews, news articles, advertisements, and cartoons which circulated in the major mass media during that era in Turkey, this article will thus address the process of audience experience within the historical context.

Indian Films in Turkey

The first Indian films arrived in Turkey in 1947, immediately after India gained its independence. This was also a significant time for the Turkish film industry. The number of films produced doubled from six in 1946 to 12 in 1948, but production was still far from supplying the demand for locally produced products. Despite a partial ban in the eastern provinces of Turkey in 1943, Egyptian films enjoyed great popularity,[2] which was a matter of concern for the local film producers. A report of 1947 on the industry, signed by 12 members of the Local Film Producers' Association, pleaded for urgent measures to be taken by the government. The report claimed that the most valuable gain from these measures would be a countering of "the growing market share of the Near Eastern films that have conquered Turkey", and argued that "the Egyptian film industry owes its dominant position in Turkey to a lack of appropriate policies". Proposed measures included lifting taxes on film negative and studio equipment, and decreasing the levy on ticket prices (Yerli Film Yapanlar Cemiyeti, 1948).

The government was quick to respond to these suggestions. In July 1948, local municipality taxes on Turkish films' screenings were reduced from 75 to 20 percent. As a result, movie theaters screening international films were paying 41 percent tax on each ticket sold, while theaters screening Turkish movies were paying 20 percent (Özön, 1995, p. 47). Obviously this move increased the demand by exhibitors for Turkish films, and the number of Turkish films increased to 18 in 1948. Correspondingly, there was also a reduction in the film imports. The margin of profits from foreign films fell drastically as the local film industry grew. The number of Egyptian films screened in Istanbul decreased from 36 in 1947 to six in 1949 (*World Trade in Commodities-Motion Pictures and Equipment*, 1948, vols VI and VII). At the same time, Turkey, which had remained neutral throughout World War II, was strengthening its relations with the American government, under whose auspices large sums of money were pouring into Europe under the Marshall Plan.[3] Soon, the number of Hollywood films increased in Turkey, constituting almost 80 percent of total film imports in 1951 (see Table 1).

Local film culture grew, thanks to these developments, and a new audience was emerging. In 1948, there were 228 movie theaters in Turkey with an estimated seating capacity of 111,600 (*World Trade in Commodities-Motion Pictures and Equipment*, 1948, vol. VI, part 4, no. 21, p. 2). It was in these circumstances that the first group of films imported from India were screened in Turkey. It is possible that distributors perceived these as substitutes for Egyptian films, whose influence officials were anxious to curtail. However, the six films imported from India in 1947 were unable to compete with the highly popular Egyptian films and had a limited run. Turkish distributors were discouraged by this lack of interest and the high tax rates, and ceased importing Indian films until 1952. Between 1952 and 1954, imports began rolling in again, and 10 Indian films arrived in Turkey. Although Indian films were becoming a part of local film culture, they were screened in second-run movie theaters showing Turkish as well as non-Hollywood films, and had only limited success.[4]

This situation changed with the release of *Awara* on February 15, 1955 in Istanbul. The film attracted a large number of viewers and also appeared to have contributed to the success of other Indian films in Turkey.[5] The movie was the box-office hit of the season and was watched by several generations of Turkish filmgoers (Image 2). Since there are no statistics available from the 1950s for annual admissions, it is difficult to estimate the number of viewers. However, newspaper advertisements reported that the film was watched by some 100,000 people in the first week of its run. *Awara* was voted as the best movie of 1955 by the readers of the popular daily *Milliyet*, beating Hollywood films such as *Roman Holiday* (William Wyler, 1953) and *Limelight* (Charlie Chaplin, 1952). The film's director and star, Raj Kapoor ranked third on the list of best actors and Nargis was seventh on the list of the 10 best actresses of a newspaper survey (*Milliyet*, September 12, 1955, p. 3).[6] Thanks to this unprecedented success, many films from India were imported within the next few years, constituting 10 percent of total film imports in 1959 and 1960. Between 1952 and 1962, 101 Indian movies were screened in Turkey (Table 2).

It appears that distributors did not have a specific strategy of selection and simply purchased what was available. *Awara's* Turkish distributor Toros Şenel, owner of a small distribution company *Toros* Films, had gone to India to market some Turkish films. While he had heard about *Awara* long ago, he sought the rights for Turkish distribution, although his intention in going to India had not been to buy films, and it was only when his bid to sell Turkish films in the Indian market fell through that he decided to purchase a small number of Indian films (*Milliyet*, May 11, 1955).

It is highly possible that deals might have been made between small distribution companies in the across-the-border purchase of Indian films. The year 1954 marks a turning point in the rising popularity of Indian films in the region. In the autumn of 1954, a festival of Indian films was held in a number of cities in the Soviet Union, at which were screened *Awara*, *Do Bigha Zamin* (Bimal Roy, 1953), *Aandhiyan*

Table 1. Number of Long Films Imported by Country of Origin (approved by censors in the year stated)

Year	USA		Italy		France		UK		Germany		India		Spain		Mexico		USSR		Greece		Egypt		Other		Films produced	Total
1951	157	78%	17	8%	19	9%	–	–	4	2%	–	–	1	0%	–	–	–	–	1	0%	1	0%	1	0%	36	201
1952	171	71%	22	9%	12	5%	16	7%	7	3%	4	2%	2	1%	–	–	–	–	–	–	3	1%	3	1%	56	240
1953	225	73%	34	11%	8	3%	25	8%	5	2%	1	0%	–	–	8	3%	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	0%	42	307
1954	191	59%	27	8%	28	9%	35	11%	8	2%	5	2%	5	2%	9	3%	1	0%	5	2%	4	1%	4	1%	51	322
1955	226	69%	–	–	29	9%	23	7%	17	5%	–	–	5	2%	2	1%	4	1%	–	–	–	–	22	7%	62	328
1956	184	59%	36	12%	18	6%	19	6%	12	4%	21	7%	1	0%	1	0%	6	2%	–	–	2	1%	10	3%	51	310
1957	243	58%	37	9%	23	5%	48	11%	14	3%	6	1%	8	2%	26	6%	1	0%	–	–	8	2%	6	1%	60	420
1958	158	63%	18	7%	18	7%	20	8%	1	0%	17	7%	9	4%	7	3%	–	–	–	–	3	1%	–	–	81	251
1959	123	53%	10	4%	27	12%	20	9%	4	2%	23	10%	6	3%	4	2%	1	0%	–	–	4	2%	8	3%	79	230
1960	84	52%	6	4%	16	10%	15	9%	9	6%	16	10%	2	1%	–	–	–	–	1	1%	–	–	14	9%	85	163
1961	117	27%	23	5%	84	20%	97	23%	60	14%	7	2%	3	1%	–	–	–	–	1	0%	1	0%	35	8%	122	428
1962	102	37%	41	15%	46	17%	25	9%	22	8%	1	0%	6	2%	–	–	3	1%	15	5%	–	–	14	5%	132	275
1963	116	45%	37	14%	26	10%	20	8%	15	6%	–	–	3	1%	–	–	8	3%	20	8%	1	0%	13	5%	117	259
1964	128	52%	34	14%	21	9%	16	6%	15	6%	–	–	3	1%	–	–	6	2%	–	–	–	–	24	10%	182	247
1965	130	47%	40	15%	33	12%	33	12%	14	5%	–	–	5	2%	–	–	7	3%	–	–	–	–	12	4%	215	274
1966	152	42%	113	31%	27	7%	16	4%	12	3%	1	0%	8	2%	3	1%	8	2%	–	–	3	1%	23	6%	241	366

Source: Tikveş 1968.

Image 2. Turkish audiences queuing for *Awara* (1955)
Source: Evren, 1998: 123.

Table 2. Number of long films imported from India (approved, conditionally approved, or rejected by censors in the year stated)

Year	Approved	Conditionally Approved	Rejected	% of Total Import
1952	4	–	–	2
1953	1	–	–	0
1954	5	–	–	2
1955	–	–	–	–
1956	19	2	1	7
1957	6	–	2	1
1958	16	1	2	7
1959	19	4	–	10
1960	15	1	1	10
1961	4	3	1	2
1962	1	–	–	0

Source: Tikveş, 1968.

(Chetan Anand, 1952), and *Rahi* (K. Ahmad Abbas, 1953). Among these, *Awara* broke a box-office record with 63.7 million viewers (Rajagopalan, 2006, pp. 84–85). The same year the first Indian film, *Aan* (Mehboob Khan, 1952), was screened in Greece on January 17, 1954 (Helen Abatzi and Emmanuel Tasoulas cited by Eleftheriotis, 2006, p. 101). The same film was released in Turkey later in the year on October 20[7] and a few months later, *Awara* opened in Turkey and ran successfully for several weeks. The titles and the close proximity of their release dates suggest that distributors may have cooperated in the international distribution of these films. This, heretofore unstudied international traffic of films, is notable in that it rendered possible the cross-border mobilizing of an international repertoire of films—not only Hollywood, European or Indian films, but also films from such diverse countries as Egypt, Mexico, and Hong Kong.

Regulating Indian films

Once distributors acquired film rights in Turkey, they were required to obtain approval from the board of censors prior to screening. In certain cases, strict rules of censorship prevented some Indian films from being screened in Turkey. According to statistics, seven Indian films were rejected by the censors between 1952 and 1962.[8] For example, both *Humlog* (Zia Sarhadi, 1951) and *Do Bigha Zameen* (Two Acres of Land, Bimal Roy, 1953) were banned in accordance with the fifth clause of the Regulation on Control of Films and Screenplays[9] which prohibited the screening of films perceived as "propagating political, economic and social ideologies hostile to the national regime" (Özön 1995, p. 316; and Ankara Film Control Commission, Turkish Ministry of Culture and Tourism Archive, File: 957/48).

However, some banned titles were later approved after distributors had appealed for a re-review.[10] A notable case was *Mother India* (Mehboob Khan, 1957), which was reviewed by the Istanbul Film Commission on September 17, 1960. The commission rejected the release of the film based on the claim that "it offended decency, morals, and national sentiment, and that it undermined the order and security of the state and incited criminal activity". Upon objection by the distributor, the film was reviewed once more by the Ankara Film Commission on November 8 in the same year. The commission approved the release of the film, pending the removal or shortening of several scenes, including a scene depicting the three children eating rice spilt on the floor and Radha running the plough after the death of their ox (File: 60/99).[11]

In some cases mistranslation was sufficient grounds for a film to be denied screening rights. Satyajit Ray's *Rabindranath Tagore* (1961) was brought by the Indian Embassy to Turkey and was first reviewed by the regulatory commission in Istanbul on May 31, 1961. The censors requested the removal of scenes depicting Tagore's visit to Moscow, as it purportedly included the following declaration: "You have recognized humankind's problems. To solve these, one has to get to the root of the problem. This can only be done by eliminating social classes and emphasizing education. You have recognized and realised this."[12] The decision had the potential to lead Turkey and India to the brink of a diplomatic crisis. After the Indian Embassy's appeal, the Ankara Film Commission reviewed the film on August 8 in the same year, declaring: "It has come to light that the decision made by the Istanbul Film Commission was caused by a mistranslation; thus, there is no need to remove the above-mentioned dialogue and scenes. We have decided that the film can be screened in its entirety" (File: 961/49).

The rules of censorship were rather broad in scope, and vague. For example, Article 8 of the regulation granted censors the power to refuse permission for "the screening of over-used and damaged films that might injure spectators' eyesight." Old classics with damaged prints and even some films with atmospheric lighting were banned under this article (Özön, 1995 and Tikveş, 1968). *Shahjehan* (Abdul Rashid Kardar, 1946),

a film screened earlier in Turkey, was reviewed by the censors in May 1957 and rejected under this article (File: 957/295).

As mentioned above, a ban based on the regulatory commission's orders could be appealed, provided certain conditions were met. These conditions, termed "requests for revision", involved the removal of certain scenes, or re-dubbing. The revisions could only be carried out with the approval of the film's distributor, which was generally granted, as distributors would lose money if a film they had purchased could not be screened. During the period under study, censors approved the release of 11 movies pending revisions. The censorship committee authorised the release of *Jadoo* (Abdul Rashid Kardar, 1951) on condition that the scene in which Sundari's necklace splits into pieces be removed, as her comment was deemed unacceptable: "I am a superstitious person; this would lead to our death" (File: 957/293). In another instance, censors requested the removal of a scene containing images of Turkish and Indian flags in *Ek Hi Rasta* (B.R. Chopra, 1956), and also objected to the phrase "in this house dogs are treated much better than human beings" (File: 956/731).

As these examples indicate, censors focused on elements which highlighted social problems. Images of poverty and hardship were tied to the "communist threat", which was perceived as the most subversive danger in the Cold War years. Furthermore, religious propaganda, instances of superstition, or even images of flags concerned censors. In this sense, while deciding what could be seen, censors enforced a certain type of narration on viewers and in effect framed how viewers would receive the content of foreign films by altering it to suit the perceived sensibilities of the populace. By adapting films to mesh with official ideologies on politics, social mores, class, and nationalism, the system of censorship functioned on the premise that representations could be dangerous to the state—and thus must be controled.

Re-presenting *Awara*

Among the films discussed so far, Raj Kapoor's *Awara* is especially significant because of its phenomenal popularity not just in Turkey, but across a large geographical area, from North Africa to the Soviet Union. For this reason, this study will emphasize the ways in which the film was framed for Turkish audiences. The reception of a particular film is negotiated through various processes of translation and adaptation, which are bound to local and historical contexts. Cultural adaptation of a film occurs across a number of stages, from translation to promotion. Aiming to render films intelligible for the Turkish market, these strategies had distinct cultural and political implications, which this section will explore.

In the case of *Awara*, the title of the movie underwent only a slight change to *Avare*, as Turkish shares the form and meaning of this word, which translates as "vagabond". In the case of most other Indian films, titles were not translated literally, but modified to emphasize an aspect of the film presumably more interesting or suitable to Turkish sensibilities. Most given titles had melodramatic connotations such as *Innocent Children* (*Bhagyavaan* [Datta Dharmadhikari, 1953]), *Flares of Love* (*Amar* [Mehboob Khan, 1954]), or *Love and Mirage* (*Sassi Punnu* [J.P. Advani, 1946]). There were also interesting instances of "parasitic translations" (Stam, 1989, p. 74) of movie titles strictly motivated by commercial concerns. For example, after the box-office success of *Awara*, a number of films by Raj Kapoor were screened with titles referring to this film; *Barsaat* (Raj Kapoor, 1949) was screened under the title *Awara's Lover*—and later retitled *Love Wound*—and films titled *Awara's Children* and *Raj Kapoor's Love* were also released.[13]

Distributors made certain changes to the original opening credits of *Awara.* Instead of superimposing the credits over an image of a little child and dog as in the original, in the Turkish version the credits were projected against a background highlighting the film's title. Here, the name of the film's leading actors

(Nargis and Raj Kapoor) and the director (again, Raj Kapoor) were followed by a long list of Turkish actors who had done the dubbing for the film. There was also mention of the dubbing studio manager and of a job described curiously as "arranged by" (*filmi hazırlayan*), which likely referred to the Turkish editor who created the new title and deleted certain scenes.

The names of all the film characters were replaced with common Turkish names, which was a common practice in this era. Raj became Raci, while Rita was renamed Selma. The Turkish names for the other characters were Hakim Mithat (Judge Raghunath), Kaya (Jagga), Leyla (Leela), and Behice (Bhabhi).

It is not possible to estimate the running time of the version of *Awara* screened in Turkey. However, it could not have been longer than 155 minutes, as movie theater programs screening the film did not last longer than 165 minutes. The Turkish DVD of the film that is currently available runs for 153 minutes, and is 15 minutes shorter than the international Hindi version.[14] In comparing the Hindi and Turkish DVDs, it becomes apparent that certain scenes were cut from the original, including the two song sequences. The first of these is the fishermen's song following the first courtroom scene and the second features the song sung by Rita before Raj arrives at Ragunath's house with an aim of killing the judge. The narrational functions of these songs provide the spectator with emotional cues to the story and the situation of the characters,[15] features which the distributors evidently believed were not significant for Turkish spectators. In general, it was a common strategy on the part of distributors and exhibitors to remove song and dance scenes from some musicals; notably, spectacular Hollywood productions such as *Kismet* (Vincente Minelli, 1955) and *South Pacific* (Joshua Logan, 1958) were shortened via deletion of the films' singing routines (Dorsay, 1991, p. 84). This was probably done as such musical numbers were considered to be incompatible with the conventions of verisimilitude. On the other hand, in Egyptian and Turkish "musicals", instead of bursting into songs in an ordinary setting, characters usually performed on stage. As Viola Shafik notes of Egyptian films focusing only on songs, "the action was matched to the various musical performances" and "their stories usually dealt either with the figure of a singer or a dancer or were set in locations such as nightclubs and theatres" (Shafik, 1998, p. 104).

Other sequences were also cut from the Turkish version of *Awara*, including the courtroom scene in which Ragunath questions a man who was cuckolded by his wife, a situation reflecting uncomfortably on the judge, as his wife's virtue was also in doubt after her abduction by the bandit Jagga. Distributors also dispensed with a scene showing vagabond children on the streets of Bombay, and another featuring Raj's conversation with Jagga in a bar, after his release from the prison. Some of these cuts may have been done with a view to fit the film in the movie theaters' program length, and may not have strictly been based on moral-political concerns. During the 1950s, a standard film show in Turkey would run approximately two hours, with four shows a day, and *Awara's* length would only permit three showings a day.[16] However, high turnout for the film might have compensated for the loss of revenue due to the fewer number of screenings.

In *Awara's* Turkish dubbed version, the use of colloquial English in certain dialogs was retained, with minor revisions. In one such example Raj says "Ok Boys!" to some prison guards; in another, he says, "Hey boss, how's business", which becomes "Hey boss, how are you?" in the Turkish version. In terms of language changes, or their absence, it is interesting to note that some songs were retained in their original language, and thus no longer carried a clear narrational function, as they did in the original. Other songs were completely removed, and some of the atmospheric background music was replaced with a new soundtrack. The reason for this might have been overlap of musical soundtrack and dialogs, rendering the retention of the background music with Turkish overdubbing impossible. One example of musical alteration occurs when Leela returns from her abduction. In this scene, as Ragunath lights a chandelier with a torch, sitar music plays in the background, while in the Turkish version this is replaced by a guitar piece, a tune used again when Rita visits Raj in prison toward the end of the film.

Until the 1960s, it was quite common for distributors and exhibitors to modify film soundtracks and dialogs. Some even inserted locally produced scenes into dubbed movies, which featured local singers and performers. Alim Şerif Onaran, a film scholar and former member of the Turkish censorship body, argues that most of the dubbed movies were "not just re-titled, but altered in order to give the impression that the movie was set in Turkey". As a result, "the movies were virtually presented like they were Turkish movies" (Onaran, 1968, p. 179). To a degree, and primarily via dubbing and naming characters, there is a certain truth to this observation. However, as we have observed, this was not entirely the case, as most of the original song and dance scenes, as well as the film's setting and costumes, remained culturally specific. Further, I will argue that *Awara's* Indianness was crucial to the film's success.

Promoting *Awara*

In the 1950s, cinema was becoming one of the most popular forms of entertainment in Turkey, indicated by the substantial increase in the number of movie theaters and viewers. This was a new audience with tastes rather different from the elite urban cinemagoers of earlier decades. Between 1950 and 1960, the population of the four largest cities in Turkey increased by 75 percent, due to the arrival of 1.5 million immigrants into the urban areas (Keyder, 1987, p. 137). Meanwhile, the local film industry was growing, and produced 62 films in 1955, whilst American films were losing their dominance in the Turkish market. The constant devaluation of the Turkish lira against foreign currencies in the mid-1950s discouraged the American companies from converting their earnings into dollars, which accelerated this decline, and the number of Hollywood imports dropped from 226 in 1955 to 84 in 1960 (Table 1).

However, there was still a clear divide between audiences. On the one hand, there were movie theaters in larger cities which screened first-run Hollywood or French films. These cinemas usually had contracts with major American film companies and programed their screenings in advance. Producers or distributors generally rented second-run theaters to screen Turkish and Indian films. *Awara* was first screened at two different movie theaters in Istanbul. One of these, *Sümer,* a first-run theater which normally screened Hollywood films, was located in the westernized district of Pera; the other, *Çemberlitaş*, was a second-run theater used for Turkish films, and was located in the old city center of Şehzadebaşı. On the day of the film's release, only one advertisement was published in the newspapers promoting the film. This emphasized the worldwide popularity of the Indian cinema and, notably, the film's alleged success in Europe: "A monument of cinematic art from India, leader of the world film industry. *Awara* is a cinematic event that has been hailed as 'magnificent' by film critics around the world after it was screened for months in major movie theaters in Europe" (*Hürriyet*, February 15, 1955). As these strategies show, unlike other Indian films, *Awara* was marketed for both the upper and middle-class audiences in Turkey.

After its unprecedented success, *Awara* was released in other cinemas in Istanbul. The following week, the distributor placed an advertisement describing the movie as "the world film industry's most magnificent masterpiece, not only of the year, but of the century" (*Milliyet*, February 22, 1955). When the film's turnover reached a record level, another newspaper advertisement stated that the film "was attended by 100,000 spectators during its first week and another 100,000 were unable to watch the film since it had sold out", and advised people to buy their tickets in advance. A later advertisement mentioned that the film was screened in "panoramic" format (*Milliyet*, March 9, 1955), possibly with the aim of attracting spectators who were interested in novel technologies. As Douglas Gomery has noted, in the 1950s America, wide screen projections such as Cinerama and CinemaScope were used to get the public's attention and attract audiences back to

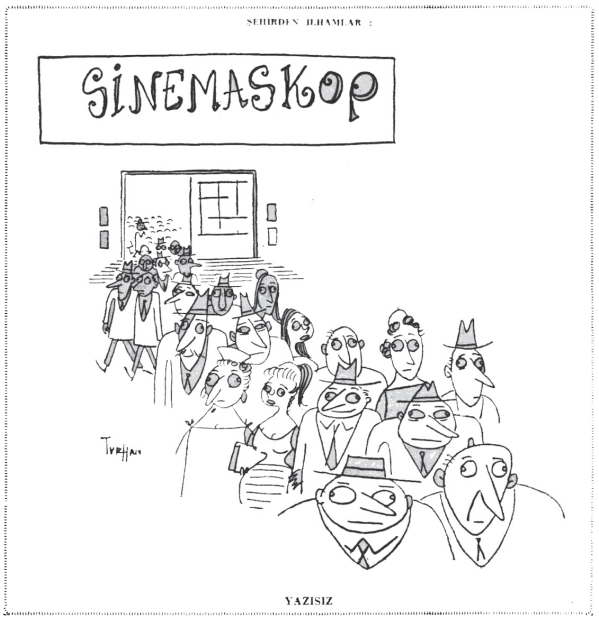

Image 3. "Inspirations from the city". Untitled
Source: *Milliyet*, March 29, 1955, Illustrator: Turhan Selçuk.

cinemas (Gomery, 1992, pp. 238–44). However, as cartoonist Turhan Selçuk observed in 1955, urban audiences do not seem to have been impressed by this novelty (Image 3).

When the movie was released in the capital city Ankara in March, it was the first ever non-Hollywood film to be screened at the *Büyük* [Grand] movie theater, a first-run movie theater which normally screened only Hollywood and European productions. Apparently, the owners, resistant to screening Indian films, were only convinced when the distributor, *Toros* Film Company, made them a generous offer after an extended bargain (Karagözoğlu, 2004, p. 97). Advertisements took on a completely different form, following the way in which Hollywood films were promoted. In the advertisement released by the *Büyük* movie theater, the film's themes were presented as:

> A father who sacrifices his love for his duty / The exemplary sacrifice of the woman who lost her heart to *Awara* / A self-sacrificing mother who stands up against all odds for her son / The feeling of revenge that turns a wretch into a sinner. The advertisement mentioned that spectators would delight in watching these scenes interwoven with the intricately patterned and enchanting melodies of Indian music. (*Zafer*, March 27, 1955)

These examples suggest that promotional strategies were geared towards attracting both the elite and popular audiences. While the first advertisement highlighted the origins of the film with reference to the importance of the movie industry in India, it also claimed that *Awara* was appreciated by "international film critics" and "European audiences". Later the emphasis was shifted to the film's box-office success and how the film was screened. Lastly, advertisements presented *Awara* in a similar fashion to Hollywood films, in the way that they outlined melodramatic themes to attract moviegoers. These different types of marketing

strategies, along with the screening of the film in different locales aimed at pulling in the cultivated, westernized middle class as well as the lower classes, indicate that the film marked a rupture. Defying class and taste distinctions, *Awara* introduced a new type of cinema, which broke from paradigmatic notions of the cultural value of film.

Unlike *Awara*, other Indian films screened in Turkey during this era were promoted as distinctly Indian, which suggests that these films offered filmgoers a particularly exotic experience and emotional engagement. For example, *Barsaat* (Raj Kapoor, 1949) (Image 4) was promoted as "the greatest and most genuine Indian film of the year, able to warm even the coldest of hearts and bring the pleasures of love to everyone in the audience". Besides highlighting the names of Raj Kapoor and Nargis, the advertisements emphasized that the movie was "dubbed in Turkish with the original music and songs", implying perhaps that while the film could be understood by local audiences, its distinctive cultural traits remained intact. The advertisement publicized the fact that the movie was "attended by 125,678 people during its first four days in the four movie theatres in which it was shown" (*Milliyet*, June 19, 1955).

Image 4. An advertisement for *Barsaat*
Source: *Yeni Yıldız* 33:3, January 12, 1956.

Similarly, an advertisement for the film *Aan* (Turkish title: *Mangola: The Daughter of the Jungle*) (Mehboob Khan, 1952), describes the film (or perhaps India) as "a miracle of world film industry". The advertisement focused on the exoticism of the film: "A subject which you have never come across, together with fantastic oriental music and amazing scenes. In color, and dubbed in Turkish throughout" (*Hürriyet*, October 3, 1954) (see Image 5).

In the publicity campaigns for other Indian films, other elements are notable, such as the idea that India and its products conjure up a space of cultural and symbolic value, perhaps related to the location of India and

Image 5. Advertisement for *Aan*
Source: *Hürriyet*, October 3, 1954.

its iconic leadership in the contemporary world. Thus about the film *Pickpocket* (*Pocketmaar*, H.S. Rawail, 1956), it was noted: "The long-awaited Indian film *Pickpocket*, a masterpiece which the Indian Prime Minister Nehru awarded with a golden medal, and which has received three stars from all newspapers, is playing at the *Şan* movie theatre starting November 30" (*Milliyet*, October 28, 1959). On the other hand, films by Raj Kapoor did not require any other promotional embellishment other than that they featured the famous star.

Film Critics and the Domesticated Exotic

In the mid-1950s, only a few newspapers regularly covered screenings of films, and what did appear usually took the form of short reviews. It was only in the early 1960s, with the emergence of film journals, that a new form of film criticism emerged. Reviews in the 1950s mainly covered Hollywood and European films, while Turkish and Indian films rarely received critical attention. *Awara* was an exception in this regard and was briefly reviewed in three newspapers (*Milliyet*, February 19, 1955; *Vatan*, February 20, 1955; and *Zafer*, March 31, 1955). While these reviews were not all favorable, they praised certain aspects of the film.

Among these reviews, only *Milliyet* chose to provide some information about Indian cinema. After noting that India was the second largest film producer in the world with an average annual production of 200 films, the author admitted that, "it is highly difficult to get a general view of the quality of Indian cinema after seeing the limited number of films screened to date in Turkey." *Milliyet*'s critic Tuncan Okan, discussing the significance of "social film" in India, defines the genre as "emphasizing social problems caused by class

difference, or addressing economic and social problems". According to Okan, *Awara* deals with "tragedies caused by prejudices and the mistakes of others". The review goes on to note: "The narrative structure reminds one of a modern Arab movie. However, despite its long running time, the film is not as drab as those Arab or Italian melodramas. Nevertheless, the movie could have been shortened by omitting some of the longer songs" (*Milliyet*, February 19, 1955).

A similar comparison was made in the newspaper *Vatan*'s review on *Bhagyavaan* by Datta Dharmadhikari, 1953, released only a week before:

> The film's subject matter is reminiscent of Arab films and bad Italian melodramas.... However, the acting, specific local character, the emphasis on Indian customs and traditions, as well as the director's avoidance of overly emotional scenes and exploitation saves the film. It is much better than the Arab or Italian films dealing with similar melodramatic themes. (*Bhagyavaan*, February 13, 1955)

The issue of melodramatic mode is a recurring theme in these reviews. *Vatan*'s short review for *Awara* reads:

> [A]lthough the subject matter is highly melodramatic, thanks to the director's modern style, it is a successful film. The film's cinematography also ensures the film's success. Despite its length, the film is quite attractive thanks to the originality of the Indian music and the customs presented therein. (*Vatan,* February 20, 1955)

One can find a similar tone in the daily *Zafer*'s review of the film:

> *Awara*, which contains all the elements of a melodrama, is notable for its direction and cinematography. However, the studio sets are quite artificial, which is a major setback. Raj Kapoor, who is also the star of the movie, prefers long shots, but since his understanding of cinema is quite modern, he succeeds in pulling off a high-quality picture. *Awara*'s originality is expressed via its Indian soundtrack and the Indian customs shown. (March 31, 1955)

Zafer's comments on the film's cinematography run counter to the review in *Milliyet*:

> The sets and original Indian music are the two strongest elements of the film. One can feel this in the dream sequence, which was shot in a simple yet fine and subtle way. Overall, the cinematography is skilful. The success of Raj Kapoor, the film's producer, director, scriptwriter, and leading actor, is attributable to his upbringing in the U.K. (*Zafer,* February 10, 1955)

Although the remarks about Kapoor's upbringing are inaccurate, it indicates that according to the popular press "modern" skills could only be attributed to acquaintance with western culture.

Akşam, a newspaper which had not reviewed *Awara* at the time of its release, later featured an article on its film review page explicating the reasons for the film's success. Critic Çetin A. Özkırım reminded readers that it was in this year that the wide-screen format of CinemaScope was introduced to a number of movie theaters in Turkey. However, even this important innovation was not enticing enough to distract spectators from the merits of *Awara*. Özkırım said:

> The middle classes ignored this new approach and attraction. For them, the only cinema event was *Awara* and they showed great interest in it. What was so special about this Indian movie, apart from the fact that it combines the Egyptian and Mexican melodramas we have seen time and time again with a music that is new to us? (*Akşam*, May 22, 1955)

As this view conveys, *Awara* was so popular with a large group of cinemagoers that it overwhelmed all other types of interest or attraction the cinema offered.

Overall, these film reviews imply an opposition between the modern forms and styles exemplified by Hollywood and European cinema on one hand, and the melodramatic mode, best known through Egyptian, Mexican, and Italian melodramas, which were generally looked down upon by the critics. While the modern style was described as showing subtlety in terms of *mise-en-scene*, cinematography, and direction, the melodramatic form was associated with a specific plot or subject matter, tending toward the dreary and over-emotional, and often long-winded. *Awara* was mostly categorized as melodrama because of its plot, but nonetheless it was also considered modern due to the techniques employed in the shooting of the film. In that sense, being modern was conceived of as something technological, bearing the marks of the Hollywood's continuity editing style.

In addition, the Indianness of the film was emphasized as one of its most successful points. The "Indian customs and traditions" portrayed within the film, as well as the Indian soundtrack, were regarded as signs of the film's cultural specificity lending it strength and originality as a distinct field of identity, and resulting in an exotic fusion of melodrama with the "modern".

Columnists and the Question of "National" Film

Although it garnered the attention of reviewers who usually reviewed Hollywood and European films, *Awara* had limited coverage in the popular press during the first few months after its release. But, in the meantime, the popularity of the film and its title song was growing, not only among the lower classes, but also across different social strata. This seems to have alarmed newspaper columnists, the most influential cultural critics of the period. Writing six or seven days a week, Turkish columnists tried to get to grips with the complexity of a number of issues ranging from political matters to aspects of daily life.

Two and a half months after the release of *Awara*, *Milliyet*'s popular columnist Refi Cevad Ulunay (1890–1968) was the first to comment on the phenomenon of the film's success. Ulunay, who wrote a book titled *Diyarı Hindistan* (*The Land of India*) (1962), apparently watched the film during his visit to India in 1952. He thought that the film's success lay in its exoticism:

> The significance of Indian cinema lies in the fact that every ingredient, from A to Z, is Indian. This country, which hosts magnificent civilizations, constitutes a unique natural realm unto itself. With a population of 500 million—and with its numerous types, characters, customs, and lifestyles—it is an utterly different world. (Ulunay, "Avaremu", *Milliyet*, May 6, 1955)

Ulunay seemed to display a religious and national pride while noting that the film's leading actress Nargis was a Muslim, who "could compete and even do much better than the most famous actresses in terms of beauty and artistic abilities". This also gave him the chance to compare the film with Turkish movies of the period which were criticized for their overt sexual content: "Those who have watched the film must have realized that there is no drooling kissing scene to intimidate viewers.... I think of *Awara*, and then recall the belly-dancing heaps of flesh in our films and feel ashamed". Ulunay evidently considered Indian cinema to have a higher moral stance than its Turkish counterpart.

Ulunay's article generated further discussions in the daily press. The next day, columnist Peyami Safa (1899–1961), another famous author writing for *Milliyet*, used *Awara* to express his views on national

specificity. Interestingly Safa had not watched the film, but had heard that it was a good example of a "national film". He then reflected on the phenomenon of "nationalities that are not completed or that are in the process of formation":

> Since British people do not need to get more British than they are, they do not need to launch a characteristically national campaign. However, because of its brief history, Turkish nationalism is in the process of taking shape and should pave the way from nation to humanity without losing itself.

According to Safa, *Awara* exhibited national specificity, and he envied Indians "for having created a national work which delighted people from many nations" (*Milliyet*, May 7, 1955).

However, Peyami Safa changed his views a month later, after having watched the film:

> It may be too late for this, but I think it is worth noting: yesterday, I saw *Awara* for the first time. This movie, which fluctuates between the lowest possible banality, rising occasionally to the summit of beauty and grandeur, only to fall once again into the pits of the crudest melodrama, has a subject matter in which all the basic principles of nineteenth-century popular French novels are used: you could even think that Eugène Sue, Xavier Montepain, Georges Ohnet and Alexander Dumas came together and wrote the script. It even seems like Victor Hugo might have taken part in it. The vagabond who steals a loaf of bread for his sick mother duplicates Jean Valjean's innocent crime in *Les Miserables*. The father who refuses to acknowledge his own son for years is a variation of the mother in *La porteuse de pain* (Xavier de Montepin). We have also seen courtroom scenes in *Awara* that remind us of *The Trial of Mary Dugan* (Norman Z. McLeod, 1941) (*Milliyet,* June 21, 1955).

Safa has criticized the film's dubbing and described it as "phony" and "irritating". Ironically, despite this setback, the writer had to contend with the movie's wide popularity. Safa explains this "mystery" by drawing a comparison with Turkish cinema:

> No Turkish filmmaker could succeed in producing such a movie. First of all, there are no Turkish actors who could impersonate that girl and the vagabond with such a natural and sincere style within the framework of such an unnatural topic. This is obvious from the unbearably inadequate dubbing of our well-known actors. Then, the music: beautiful songs and dances that are at times reminiscent of the newest atonal masterpieces of Western music, while still preserving their national essence. Then, the lavishness of the setting and *mise-en-scene*; they did not abstain from spending a lot of money. They remain distant from the profiteering mentality so common in our country, where people spend 100,000 liras, expecting to see 500,000 lira profit within two months. The script, direction, performance, music and phantasmagoria scenes are absolutely flawless, within the scope of the film's genre.

Safa advises his filmmaker friends not to imitate *Awara*: "This simple Indian movie should remind us of our limits in filmmaking; without that, there is no solution [to the problems our filmmakers face]."

Columnists also used the film's popular title song to comment on the film and what it symbolized. *Hürriyet*'s columnist Tahsin Öztin estimated that one out of every three people walking in the streets was singing "*Awara hoon*", or rather, "Avaramu", adapting the word to Turkish phonetic patterns. There were also restaurants, leisure centers, and shops named after *Awara*. For Öztin the lyrics, "I am a vagabond" symbolized nothing to be "curious about or to be envious of" (*Hürriyet*, June 14, 1955). Another columnist drew attention to the fact that the word "*Awara*", written "Avare" in Turkish, meant "vagabond" in both languages. Hikmet Münir noted, "We don't speak the same language. But, obviously there are some similarities. This song became popular not because of these linguistic similarities, but thanks to its resemblance to Turkish musical tones and likeness in melody" (*Zafer*, May 20, 1955).

The famous columnist Vâ-Nû (Vala Nurettin) (1901–1967), writing at the time for *Cumhuriyet* newspaper, evaluated the lessons to be drawn from *Awara*:

> We should admire with envy and draw a lesson from the fact that Arabs and Indians, and even other nations of the East, make films that are mutually watched in these countries and that, furthermore, are appreciated by our people. They don't want to imitate the west; instead, they learn their own techniques. They produce works that take the level of poorer classes into consideration. Instead of depreciating these films as 'bad melodrama', let us examine them in detail. Let us reconsider what could be done in Turkey, for example, how we can shoot an exportable film that is technically superior without being vulgar.

According to Vâ-Nû, if Turkish filmmakers learn this formula, "the gates to the great Asian market would be open to us". Vâ-Nû also discusses the popularity of *Awara's* title song "*Awara hoon*" and its musical structure. The writer believes that the song's simple polyphonic structure "did not grate on the ears of easterners" and that Indian composers knew well how to gradually "get easterners accustomed to western music", which could serve as a model for Turkish folk music (*Cumhuriyet*, July 21, 1955).

One of the most interesting comments on "*Awara hoon*" came from Professor Sabri Esat Siyavuşgil, whose column was titled "Psychologist's View". He tried to account for why the song became so popular in such a short period of time. According to Siyavuşgil, one of the reasons is that the song has "the melancholic atmosphere of the East". But this is a different type of melancholy:

> …it is not pitch-black like a starless night or wearying like the journey of a caravan - it is not an oppressive melancholy. On the contrary it is snappy, always wanting to talk over its troubles, never tiring of asking questions even though it gets no answer; so it was undespairing pity, a pessimism awaiting a ray of light even though at the end of the tunnel, there is a flap of wings striving to escape the clutches of fate even though it ends up surrendering.

This "sweet melancholy" or the "yearning for a past whose doors are not closed yet", is the vital problem of the east, according to Siyavuşgil. Westernization is an irreversible process, it "is the road to liberation, to living in human dignity":

> *Awara hoon* is a strange journey and a song of yearning that blends within its melody the joy of embarking on this road and the feeling of melancholy that comes from leaving the old road. And this song gradually expands in our soul which is familiar to these sorts of feelings. We cannot remain indifferent to the intimate heart-to-heart of a large country that is more eastern than we are. We do not listen to this music intently because the title of the song is '*Awara*', but because we sense a contradiction of feelings and a sweet melancholy in its melody. Perhaps it reminds us of our own yesteryear.

The writer believes, however, that this is not the appropriate tune for the march towards westernization. At this point, he draws a comparison between Turkey and India: "It is the farewell song of a country that is more eastern than us. We listened to it with great pleasure, but tomorrow we will forget it. Indians too will forget '*Awara hoon*'…and will feel the need to create other melodies that will keep time to the firm march of their journey" (Siyavuşgil, *Yeni Sabah*, May 8, 1955).

On the other hand, the approach of the left-wing press was one of neglect or denunciation, with one exception. The renowned columnist Çetin Altan wrote an aphoristic article called "Our Voice" for the daily *Tan.* In this, he identified particular periods in Turkish history with an emblematic song. Thus, he associated

"*Awara hoon*" with the new period of democracy that had began with the multi-party elections of 1946 and continued with the Democratic Party's 10-year rule from 1950 to 1960. (*Tan*, June 25, 1955, p. 2).

In all of this, we may observe a certain instability and ambiguity in the way columnists sought to locate the cultural allure of the film. Writers appear to struggle to situate the impression of exoticism, looking both to the traditional and the modern, to "eastern" and "western" sources. For example, while praising *Awara's* authenticity and national specificity, some writers employed an orientalist tone, exemplified by the references to the "numerous types, characters and customs" evoked in the film. Similarly, Indian film music could in one account be compared to atonal Western music, in another as being close to rhythms of Turkish musical idioms, as Hikmet Münir noted. Sabri Esat Siyavuşgil, however, is subtly different form the other writers. Evoking the engagement with the west and modern forms as akin to a journey steeped in feelings of loss, the psychologist nevertheless captures the duality of the mood involved. This is through "a song of yearning that blends within its melody the joy of embarking on this road and the feeling of melancholy that comes from leaving the old road".

The expression of sexuality is another significant aspect writers emphasized. In this sense, the restraint employed in portraying modern female characters in Indian films could be seen as superior to the traditions of the belly dance in Turkish films. In most of these comments, Indian cinema was presented as a model for the Turkish film industry. Apart from its "moral" stance, Indian cinema appeared exemplary in its "technical superiority" and international appeal.

Popularity and Apprehension

The phenomenal presence of *Awara* was not only due to the thousands of viewers flocking to see the film. The title song "*Awara hoon*" was played throughout Turkey, was the top selling record, and was performed by a number of Turkish singers who circulated it as a Turkish record in music markets. The song literally became part of folk culture when Turkish folklorist İlhan Başgöz recorded a folk version in 1957 in the eastern city of Kars. To his surprise, he found this indigenized version being played with the traditional Turkish instruments *davul* (drum) and *zurna* (reed wind instrument) (Başgöz, 1999, p. 20) (Images 6 and 7).

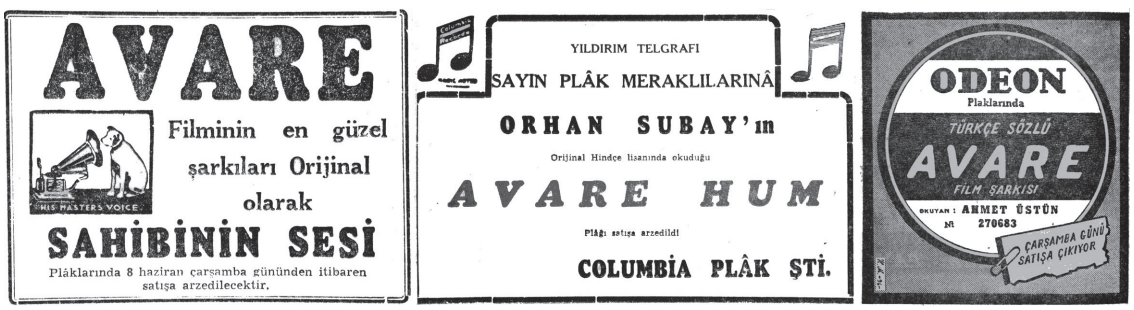

Image 6. Different covers of the song "*Awara hoon*". From HMV, Columbia and Odeon
Source: *Cumhuriyet*, June 3, June 4, and June 8, 1955.

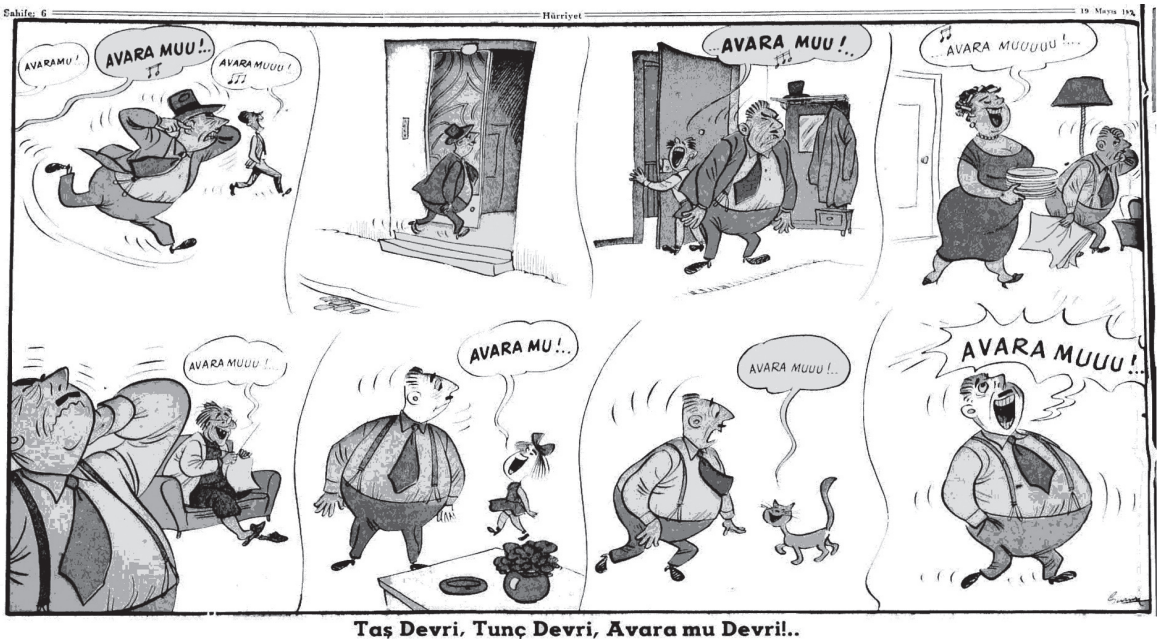

Image 7. "Stone Age, Bronze Age and *Awara hoon* Age", Illustrator: Sururi
Source: *Hürriyet*, May 19, 1955.

The popularity of the song even saw it featuring in official functions, as when it accompanied marching students in Istanbul and Bursa during the May 19 celebrations for the Commemoration of Atatürk and Youth and Sports Day (*Hürriyet*, May 20, 1955). Certain sectors of the public, however, were unhappy with such developments. An article in the centrist daily *Cumhuriyet*, which was opposed to the government in power at the time, commented: "[W]e are not searching for national origins in art, but it is not adequate to play the song of Indian vagabonds on a day that was dedicated to youth by Atatürk himself" (May 23, 1955). News reports featured debates between those for and against the song. On two occasions, such arguments became heated and led to violent fights that resulted in injuries (*Milliyet*, May 27, 1955 and *Son Posta*, June 6, 1955).[17] Apocryphal stories abounded about the film's widespread social impact. The daily press seemed to draw attention to the effects of *Awara* in discussions about sexual harassment on the streets of Istanbul, although these were depicted in an ironic and humorous vein through the idiom of cartoons rather than earnest social discourse (Image 8).

Newspapers also told of how children were getting exposed to the *Awara* craze, sometimes directly through screenings in schools (Image 9). According to some newspaper reports, as the Educational Films Department did not have enough films to supply Istanbul's 86 primary schools, some schools ordered films from local distributors. As a result, films such as *Awara* and the American *film noir*, *Gilda* (Charles Vidor, 1946) showed up on the educational film circuit. On receiving complaints, the Ministry of Education asked schools not to screen unsuitable films (*Cumhuriyet*, May 10, 1955). Cartoonists took delight in the fact that an underage schoolboy denied access to *Awara's Love* (*Barsaat*) at the cinema hall could see the same movie at school.

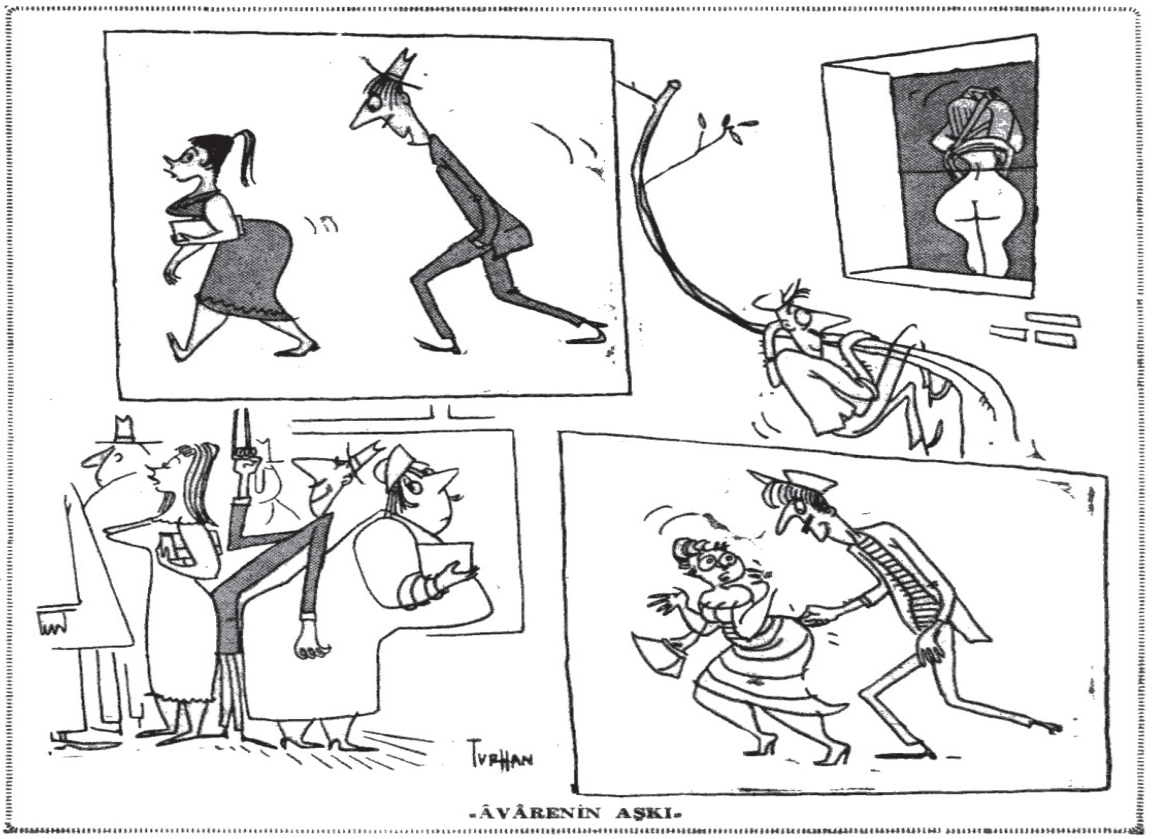

Image 8. "Avare's Love", Illustrator: Turhan Selçuk
Source: *Milliyet*, May 15, 1955.

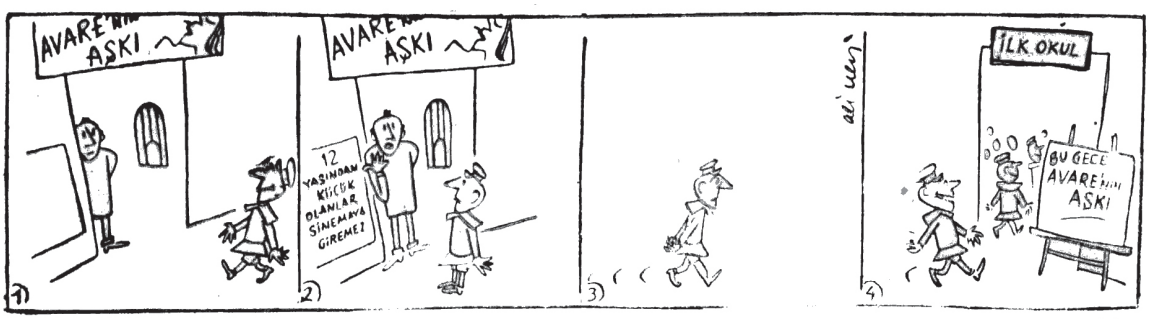

Image 9. "Students watched romantic films" "Avare's Love", Illustrator: Ali Ulvi
Source: *Cumhuriyet*, May 11, 1955,

The popularity of *Awara* thus represented a threat for some, as reflected in the cartoons of the time. Critiques of the film's success were rooted in discourses of cultural sovereignty, national character and moral sensibility. Some cartoonists lamented the moral depravity incited by the film, visually expressed in idioms of unrestrained sexuality which also spread down into schools. The increasing popularity of the film's soundtrack also alarmed newspapers, who saw, just as those who were shocked by the playing of *Awara's* songs on national holidays, a threat to the national identity.

In subsequent years, *Awara* was re-released in cinemas and screened on television a number of times in Turkey. Over the decades, Turkish film-makers made several versions, including several spin-offs based on the same story.[18] As Nezih Erdoğan (2002) has shown, Indian cinema more generally had an impact on Turkish films during the 1960s in terms of plot, theme and visual style.

Conclusion

As we have observed, discourses on Indian cinema and *Awara* that were built upon a comparison between Turkish and Indian film industries, produced certain notions of Indianness and of Indian cinema, and, in turn, of Turkishness. Between 1951 and 1960, the Turkish film industry was producing an average of 60 films annually. However, this was not enough to meet the demands of newly emerging audiences for local products and fill most of the screen time. Besides, considered as retrogressive and insufficiently modern, Turkish cinema was still rather unpopular among the critics. It was critiqued as excessively imitative of other melodramatic forms, such as those produced in Egypt, Italy, and Mexico. Although a reflection of modernity, melodrama was not considered a modern form of representation by cultural critics, who degraded it as vulgar, sensational, cheap, and escapist.

Indian cinema, however, managed to appeal to audiences of different educational and social backgrounds, and had a more favorable appraisal from Turkish critics. This was partly instigated by the chimerical transformation that the films underwent in their presentation to the local Turkish audiences. However, despite dubbing and localization, the exoticism of Indian film was not extirpated, and it was in fact the appeal of their culturally unique settings, costumes and music, as well as the proficiency of their technical features, which ensured the films' success in Turkish cinemas. The screening of Indian films in Turkey opened up arenas of debate on what national cinema meant, and in turn these debates were impacted by discourses on nationalism. The specific historical, political and social contexts of the 1950s in which these films emerged played an important role in this process of identity construction.

In the particular case of *Awara*, the critical discourse was built on a dichotomy between the global vernacular represented by classical Hollywood and European cinema, and the melodramatic mode of Egyptian, Mexican, Italian as well as Turkish cinema. The former, imagined by critics within a framework that was elite, cosmopolitan, universal in scope, technically superior, and ultimately "western", was pitted against the latter, defined as popular, local, inauthentic, technically weak, and prone to indecency. *Awara's* success offered up an alternative, defying boundaries between Hollywood and "Eastern" cinemas. Despite being criticized for its melodramatic plot, the film was praised for its subtle style, authenticity and mass appeal. In this sense, it was regarded as a pathway to a certain form of cinematic modernism that is different from these two models. This alternative model of a vernacular modernism aimed to reconcile the boundaries between elite and popular culture, classical Hollywood narration and popular melodrama, modernity and tradition.

Acknowledgements

I wish to thank Kaushik Bhaumik for his encouragement and assistance during the initial stages of writing of this article. I should also like to thank Ravi Vasudevan, Rosie Thomas, and anonymous referees of the *BioScope* for their useful comments and suggestions. Different versions of this article were presented at the "Screen Studies Conference", Glasgow (2007) and the "Indian Cinema Symposium", London (2008). I am grateful to the participants of these events for their positive reaction and feedback.

Notes

1. A major contribution to the opening up of this unexplored territory was the special issue of *South Asian Popular Culture* (Dimitris Eleftheriotis and Dina Iordanova Eds, 2006). Other studies on international audiences of Indian cinema include (Larkin, 1997), (Cunningham and Sinclair Eds, 2001), (Desai, 2004), (Ganti, 2004), (Kaur and Sinha, 2005), (Kaarsholm Ed., 2007), (Kavoori and Punathambekar, 2008), and (Gopal and Moorti, 2008). For a critique of the term Bollywood and its political history, see (Rajadhyaksha, 2003).
2. For the reception of Egyptian films in Turkey, see (Gurata, 2004).
3. Thanks to the Marshall Plan, foreign profits for the American film industry rose from $124 million in 1947 to $160 million in 1951. Almost $88 million of this total came from European nations aided by the Marshall Plan (Segrave, 1997, p. 181). Meanwhile, Turkey received $177 million in aid and a $117 million loan from the US between 1946 and 1950 (Tezel, 1982, p. 204).
4. The two Indian movies screened in Istanbul in 1954 were *Aan* (Mehboob Khan, 1952) (Turkish title: *Mangola: Ormanın Kızı*; release date: October 20, 1954 for one week with two copies [one in Turkish and the other in French]), and *Shahjehan* (Abdul Rashid Kardar, 1946) (Turkish title: *Şah-ı Cihan*; release date: December 30, 1954 for one week).
5. For example, *Bhagyavaan* [Datta Dharmadhikari, 1953] [Turkish title: *Günahsız Çocuklar* / Innocent Children]) which was released a week before *Awara* on February 8, 1955, successfully ran for three weeks in Istanbul and was re-released throughout Turkey several times during the next 10 years.
6. The poll was based on a postal voting system and attracted 16,679 viewers' votes.
7. Notably, the film was screened with similar titles in both countries: *Mangala the Rose of India* (Greece) and *Mangola the Daughter of the Jungle* (Turkey).
8. In fact, censorship seems to have become more rigorous after 1956, as the "elected" Democratic Party tightened its grip on power and became increasingly dictatorial, ultimately leading to a military coup in 1960.
9. Introduced in 1939 and modeled on the Italian system, this regulation was kept on the books, more or less intact, until 1985.
10. Foreign films were reviewed by a commission in Istanbul. In the case of appeal, they were sent to Ankara to be checked again. These boards were chaired by a representative of the governor (as chairperson), the chief of the Metropolitan Police, the Interior Ministry (overseeing the police force), the Ministry of Education, and the Directorate of the Press. In some cases, depending on the nature of the film, representatives of the military or other ministries joined the commission. However, this rule was generally abused and over time, military officers became de facto members of the commissions.
11. I would like thank Zeynep Koçer for her assistance in reaching censorship documents at the archives of Turkish Ministry of Culture and Tourism.
12. In the original, asked if he would speak a little about his general impression of Moscow, Tagore replies, "You have recognized the truth that in extirpating all social evils one has to go to the root, which can only be done through education, and not through police batons and military brow-beating" (2007, p. 1282).
13. The original titles of these two films could not be identified. For similar strategies of translation and adaptation in Greece and India, see Eleftheriotis, 2006 and Srinivas, 2003.

14. The DVD copy currently available in Turkey, distributed by the Efes Video Company, is likely to have been copied from the celluloid version screened throughout Turkey in the 1950s. This copy (running time: 153 mins) preserved the original dubbing actors' voice as credited on the titles and has the same cover design as the international DVD version released by Yash Raj Films (running time: 168 mins).
15. According to Ravi Vasudevan, the "narrational song" "interprets the meaning of narrative events, past or future" (1998, p. 196).
16. One film projectionist, in his memoirs, complains about not getting a full night's rest during the screening of *Awara,* since he had to go to school early in the morning. According to him, the last screenings ended almost at midnight (Karagözoğlu, 2004, p. 98).
17. Recently, new versions of the song were released thanks to the global popularity of Indian music. One early example is popular folk singer İzzet Altınmeşe's album with the same title (1989). In the 2000s, a reggae version (remixed by 'Ragga Oktay', in Asian Garden, vol. 1, The World of Asian Grooves, compiled and mixed by Gülbahar Kültür), a rap version and a club mix of the song (Hakan, Raj Kapoor's *Awara*, Yeni Dünya Müzik, Istanbul, 2004) appeared on the shelves of music stores in Turkey.
18. Turkish remakes of *Awara* are*, Gençlik Hülyaları* (Dreams of the Youth) (Halit Refiğ, 1962); *Avare* (Semih Evin, 1964); *Ağla Gözlerim* (Cry My Eyes) (Mehmet Dinler, 1968); *Kader Bu* (This is Fate) (Çetin İnanç, 1976); *Avare* (Remzi Jöntürk, 1978).

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